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HISTORICAL RELATION OF FACTS DELIVERED  
BY LUDOVICK GRANT, INDIAN TRADER, TO  
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR  
OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

[Charleston Probate Court.. Book 1754-1758, p. 301.]

In obedience to your Commands to acquaint you with all that I know or have heard concerning any Surrender of the Country of the Cherokees to the Crown of Great Britain in 1729 or at any other time, and also anything relative to any Surrender or sale of all or any part of Their Lands at any time before or since I have lived among them I take the liberty to lay before you the following Memorial In which I have been careful to Insert nothing but what I know to be true and what I am ready to attest upon Oath.

It is about thirty year's since I went into the Cherokee Country where I have resided ever Since, during that time I have Corresponded with the several Governours of this Province. And I have directions to communicate all occurrences of any Consequence or what ever was Proper the Government should be made acquainted with. And agreeably there to I have often written & sometimes received letters from them. I have also been acquainted with the headmen in every part of the Nation, and as I speak their language I have been often Consulted by them about their affairs, and I flatter myself I have thereby had opportunity of serving my Country by explaining things & preventing misunderstandings.— I may therefore Say with great certainty that if ever there had been any such Surrender I must have heard of it, but I never head of any such thing, nor do I believe that Such thing was ever proposed to them till lately. I fancy the transaction alluded to is what happened when <sup>1</sup>Sir Alexander Comings was in the Cherokees. Or

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<sup>1</sup> The sketch of Sir Alexander Cuming, or Cumming, in the Dictionary of National Biography, calls him chief of the Cherokees, and states that: In 1729 he was led, by a dream of his wife's, to undertake a voyage to America, with the object of visiting the Cherokee mountains

when he carried over 6 or 7 of them to London tho it did not happen in the year 1729 but in the following year. And as I know more of that matter than any man now living I shall lay before you a full account of it. Sir Alexander had resided sometime in Carolina, and intending to return to England, he was desirous first to see the Cherokee country. I resided then in the town of great Telliguo in that nation, And my business calling me to Charlestown I had got the length of Keowee which is about 150 Miles from where I live and I there met with Sir Alexander just arrived from Carolina. He acquainted me and some of the other Traders who where going down that he had no Errand but to see the Country And that he would continue there but a few days requesting us to return with him,

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on the borders of South Carolina and Virginia. He left England 13 Sept., arrived at Charles Town Dec. 5, and on March 11 following he began his journey to the Indian's country. April 3, 1730 he was "by the unanimous consent of the people he was made lawgiver, commander, leader, and chief of the Cherokee nation, and witness of the power of God, at a general meeting at Nequisee [Nequasse], in the Cherokee mountains." . . . Extracts from his journal, giving an account of his transactions with the Indians and his explorations in the Cherokee mountains, were published in the *London Daily Journal*, of Oct. 8, 1730. He returned to Charles Town April 13, 1730, accompanied by seven Indian Chiefs of the Cherokee nation, and on June 5, arrived at Dover in the Fox man-of-war; on the 18th he was allowed to present the chiefs to George II in the royal chapel at Windsor, and four days later laid his crown at the feet of the king, when the chiefs laid also their four scalps to show their superiority over their enemies, and five eagle tails as emblems of victory (*Daily Journal*, June 8, 12, and 20, 1730). The proceedings of the chiefs while in England excited the greatest interest (see *Daily Journal* and *Daily Post*, June to October 1730, *passim*). Shortly before they returned to their country, Cuming drew up an 'Agreement of Peace and Friendship,' which he signed with them on 29 Sept. at his lodgings in Spring Gardens, in the name of the British nation, and with the approval of the board of trade. . . . By this time some reports seriously affecting Cuming's character had reached England. In a letter from South Carolina, bearing date 12 June 1730, an extract from which is given in the *Eccho, or Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, for 16 Sept., he is directly accused of having defrauded the settlers of large sums of money and other property by means of fictitious promissory notes. He does not seem to have made any answer to these charges, which, if true, would explain his subsequent ill-success and poverty. The government turned a deaf ear to all of his proposals, which included schemes for paying off eighty millions of the national debt by settling three million Jewish families in the Cherokee mountains to cultivate the land, and for relieving the American colonies from Taxation by establishing numerous banks and a local currency.

and accompany him which accordingly we agreed to do. We dined that day all together at the house of Joseph Baker Trader in Keowee and at dinner some of the Traders mentioned, that these Indians was not then in the best disposition. At night Wee went to the Town house where all the Indians men & women met every night when They are not out hunting even the Headmen go there to partake of the diversion. After we had continued some time there Sir Alexander made a Speech, to the head men of the Town, Which I remember perfectly well having had occasion to hear him repeat the same Speech in every Town we went through. Viz that he was one of the Great King Georges Children but was not sent either by the Great King or any of his Governors— that he was no public person and only came for his own private Satisfaction to see their Country, And that he would Drink the King's health hoping that all persons would pledge him which he accordingly did upon his knee desiring us to follow his Example and Wee Desired the Indians to do so. Upon which Sir Alexander said it was easy to make them all good Subjects, but I must not omit a Circumstance pretty Extraordinary, Sir Alexander carried with him into the Town house his Gun, his Cutlass and a pair of pistols, and one of the Traders telling that the Indians never came there armed, and did not like that any should, He answered with a Wild look, that his intention was if any of the Indians had refused the King's health to have taken a brand out of the fire that Burns in the middle of the room and have set fire to the house. That he would have guarded the door himself and put to death every one that endeavored to make their Escape that they might have all been consumed to ashes. This strange speech which I and the other Traders heard him make, did not give some of them who were to have been of the party a very favourable opinion of him, so they concluded it would be saffer for them to stay and leave him and me to pursue our Journey which accordingly we did next morning, and passing thro' all the Towns betwixt that and Telliguo where I lived. He seldom staid above

two or three hours, never above a night at any place, whenever any Indian met us, as it is their Custom to shake hands— Sir Alexander would take his name down in his pocket book saying that he had made a Friend of him. From Telliguo we rode over to Tannasse and afterwards returned by Neguasae Where several Traders met us and a good many Indians. Sir Alexander had been informed of all the Ceremonies that are used in making a head beloved man, of which there are a great many in this nation. They are called Ouka, and as we translate that word King, so we call the Cap the he wears upon that occasion his Crown, it resembles a wig and is made of Possum's hair Dyed Red or Yellow, Sir Alexander was very desirous to see one of them, and there being none at that Town One was sent for to some other Town, He Expressed Great Satisfaction at Seeing of it, and he told the Indians that he would carry it to England and give it to the great King George, He again repeated what he had said at Keowee and the other Towns. That he was one of King George's Children and came to see their Country, that he was soon going over the Great Water and if any of them would go with him to see England he would Carry them— this, was what passed at that meeing, I was there present the whole time and am positive that there was not the least word spoke about Surrendering any lands. I know all the people that went over to England well, I know they had no Commission of authority from the Nation to give away any of their land, and I know they had no power or right in themselves to do it, I was present when they returned from England and when the presents they Brought over with them were distributed and heard them make their report of all that they had seen but I never heard one word about their Surrendering their Country on the Contrary They brought with them a written paper or Parchment which I have seen and read the title of which is Articles proposed or proposals made by the Lords of Trade to the Cherokees, and there is the answer of the Cherokees to these proposals but not the least tendency towards any Surrender of the

Land, and I shall next give an account of a Transaction that will put that matter out of doubt.— Some of the Cherokees not long after the arrival of these people were Guilty of great irregularitys, and had seized on many of the goods belonging to the Traders refusing to give satisfaction for the same. So that this Government was obliged to withdraw the trade from them, and to call all the Traders out of the Nation, But the Indians immediately applied to Virginia who instantly sent goods to supply them. But this Government having notice that they were to come in by the Catawbaw Nation sent several people to stop them among whom I was one. The Cherokees having then no other resources were obliged to make their submission & accordingly came into Charlestown for that purpose. The Government used them well, & purchased a small spot of ground from them near Toogaleu to build a Fort upon. Mr. Johnston was then Governor who had been with them all the time that they were in England and knew every Transaction relating to them there. He came out with them in the ship and would never certainly have purchased a small spot of their Land from them had they Surrendered the whole to his Majesty when they were in England. The assembly also would have scrupled paying anything for it, but this transaction was in Presence of the Governor, Council and Assembly, and happened a year or two only after the return of the people who had been in England.

The next Circumstance that I shall take notice of as having relation to their Lands is of a very extraordinary nature, it is what was transacted by one <sup>2</sup>Pryber who

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<sup>2</sup> The South-Carolina Gazette, Monday, August 15th, 1743.  
Extract of a Letter from Frederica in Georgia,

"The Creek Indians have at last brought Mr. Priber Prisoner here; he is a very extraordinary Kind of a Creature; he is a little ugly Man, but speaks almost all Languages fluently, particularly English, Dutch, French, Latin and Indian; he taks very prophanely against all Religions, but chiefly against the Protestant; he was setting up a Town at the Foot of the Mountains among the Cherokees, which was to be a City of Refuge for all Criminals, Debtors, and Slaves who would fly thither from Justice or their Masters. There was a Book found upon him of his own Writing ready for the Press, which he owns and glories in, and believes it is by this Time privately printed, but will not tell where; it demonstrates the Manner in which the

Called himself a German but was certainly an Agent for the French, He went up from Amelia Township to the Cherokee Nation, and lived in the Town of Telliguo, and being a great Scholar he soon made himself master of their Tongue, and by his insinuating manner Indeavoured to gain their hearts, he trimm'd his hair in the indian manner & painted as they did going generally almost naked except a shirt & a Flap, he told these people that they had been strangely deluded, that they had been tricked out of a great part of their Land by the English, That for the future they should make no Concession to them of any kind but should profess an equal regard both for the French & English, and should trade with both upon the same footing, which would be their greatest security for they would then be courted & caressed & receive presents from both. This Doctrine was very taking among the Indians as he endeavoured that all he said should be. He proposed to them a new System or plan of Government, That all things should be in common amongst them, that even their Wives should be so and that the Children should be looked upon as the Children of the public and be taken care of as such & not by their natural parents, That they should move the chief seat of Government to a place nearer the french called Coosawattee, where in ancient times a Town had stood belonging to the Cherokees, And that they shoul'd admit into their Society Creeks & Catawbaws, French & English, all Colours and Complexions, in short all who were of These principles, which were truly such as had no principles at all. But he inculcated most into the minds of the Indians a great care & Jealousy for their Lands, and that they should keep the English at a distance from them. This produced a very extraordinary letter to this Government

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Futigives are to be subsisted, and lays down the Rules of Government which the town is to be governed by; to which he gives the Title of Paradiſe; He enumerates many whimsical Privileges and natural Rights, as he calls them, which his citizens are to be entitled to, particularly dissolving Marriages and allowing Community of Women, and all Kinds of Licenciousness; the Book is drawn up very methodically, and full of learned Quotations; it is extreamly wicked, yet has several Flights full of Invention, and it is a Pity So Much Wit is applied to so bad Purposes."

from the Indians which was written by Pryber & signed by him as Prime Minister.— This first opened the Eyes of the Government, and shewed them the great danger of his continuing any longer there, and accordingly they sent up letters to me desiring that I would do my endeavour to have him apprehended & sent down, I well knew the Impossibility of seizing him without their leave and the difficulty of doing it without their assistance. I therefore endeavored to prevail with Moytoy who was then the head of the Nation to Give Orders to some of his people to Seize him and I promised him a very great present for it. He thanked me and said he would accept of the present and said that he would permit me to apprehend him, and he believed none of his People would find fault with it, but that they would not deliver to another people any Person who had taken shelter in their Country. however this did not discourage me to desist, and I sometime after went up into the Townhouse with a Resolution to try what could be done, but I found that he was well apprized of my design and laughed at me desiring me to try in so insolent a manner that I could hardly bear with it, and I told him although I knew the Indians would not permit me to Carry him down to be hanged Yet they would not find fault I hoped if I should throw him into the Fire, which I certainly would do if he gave me any further Provocation.

I was then deeply Engaged in Trade and saw the great ill conveniency of my Intermeddling any more in this matter upon which I wrote to the Government and represented to them the difficulty of doing it and that I was obliged for the reason above to decline it. Soon after which Coll: Fox was sent up upon the same service with several persons to attend and assist him, and having endeavored by several letters & messages to decoy & draw him out of Town but all in Vain, He at Length laid hold of him in the Townhouse, for which he had like to have suffered. The Indians took it very much amiss, and told him that as the Country was their own they might do in it what they thought proper, that they might receive any person and



give him Protection, and would permit none others to force him away that whoever attempted it deserved punishment, But as this was the first fault of that kind it should be forgiven Wishing him to get out of their Country directly. Pryber Continued to have many conferences with the Indians in favours of the French, and at Length he went over to the Halbama. Fort, and was to have gone to Moville to transact some business of Importance but the Creek indian Traders were greatly alarm'd and they prevailed with their Indians to try to apprehend him which they accordingly did, and his Negro who Jumped into the River in order to make his escape they shot dead. Pryber was afterwards sent down to Georgia with all his papers and died in Goal there. Thus ended the famous Pryber after he had lived about three years in the Cherokee Nation, a most Notorious Rogue & inniquitous fellow who if he had been permitted to have lived much longer in that Country would undoubtedly have drawn that nation over to the French Interest— But notwithstanding of his death The French did not drop their design or lay aside hopes of having that Country, but sent in other agents from the Mississippi, who preached pretty much the same doctrine namely that it was good for them to live well both with French and English, to treat them alike and to Trade with them upon the same footing, That this was the way to receive presents from both and to have plenty of goods sent into their nation from all quarters. In Short it was to have two strings to their Bow, and as the French and English just broke out in War with one another they should sell them or give them a piece of ground to build a strong house upon that they might be safe in their Persons and property from the English. But your Excellencys happy journey to 96 spoiled all the french Schemes for soon after the Indian called the Blackdogg struck his hatchett in one of ther heads & threw him into the River, and the other was shot and wounded in the Breast by one of his own people and went off.—

The next Circumstance that I shall mention is your pur-

chasing a Tract of Land from them in the year 1746 or 1747. Col: Pawley was sent up as agent for that purpose and Capt. Haig [?] & Capt Fairchild with 8 or 10 more were sent to attend & assist him, it cost a great expense to the Government, and these Gentlemen found it very difficult & were at great pains before they could prevail with the Indians to part with it tho' that land lay a hundred miles from their Nation The sale was made by the Lower Towns only, And they were many months about it, and after all Coll: Pawley was told by Connocautee that he had been doing nothing and that the Lower Towns had no right to sell these Lands for tho they lay nearest them Yet they belonged to the nation in general & could not \* \* \* without their consent—

that he had received no part of the price nor h<sup>1</sup>\* \* \* been consulted about it, It is several years ago since your Excellency first communicated to me your design of procuring a Grant or Surrender of all their lands to the King But I did not flatter you that it would be easy obtained, at first I thought it Impossible because I well knew the pains the French had taken to purchase a small Spot from them and I never entertained any hopes of your success till I heard the speech which the Indian made you at the Fort in Keowee. I was present when you Purchased that piece of ground whereon the Fort Stands and I remember that tho' one of the headmen offered you that land for nothing yet you refused to accept of it, till he had consulted the other headmen of the Lower Towns who were at home, I saw the goods delivered that you paid as the price of it, and was a subscribing Witness to the Conveyance it was Executed by the head men in the Fort, and one of them made the following Speech. "This Fort has been often "Promised to be built but I never Expected to live to see "it done but mine Eyes now see it, and my heart is Glad. "it is entirely owing to you And I thank you for it, I am "going to give a great talk but I shall not make it long, I "shall end before sun down formerly all this land on all

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<sup>1</sup>page mutilatig

"hands belonged to the red people no White men had a  
 "right to any part of it, at length a Ship came over  
 "the great water and the people who were in it desired  
 "leave to come on Shore and as they were few in number  
 "we thought there could be no great danger from them,  
 "They then asked a bit of Land to plant upon which we  
 "Gave them, but soon they Crept further up, and then a  
 "little further till we began to fear there would be no  
 "stopping of them, But at last they built a house at the  
 "Congrees, and we Concluded that that was to be their  
 "utmost limits and We were Satisfied it should be so, but  
 "sometime after they came to Saludy and then to 96, and  
 "now your Excellency is come up this length I shall be  
 "glad that \* \* & my people live in Friendship with  
 "King George & his people but he lives a great way from  
 "us, there is the great Water between us and I am told he  
 "has land enough of his own, You are very near us there  
 "is nothing but a little bit of wood between you & us  
 "I have often come backwards & forwards and think it  
 "nothing, and your Excellency has also come up here and  
 "I hope you will return in Safety, and will frequently come  
 "and see us, Wee are a poor people and have nothing to give  
 "you, the little piece of Land that I now Give you is as  
 "nothing, it is like a small bit Cut off from a great piece of  
 "Cloth it is hardly worth your acceptance but, I Propose,  
 "Soon to go round the whole Nation to every Town in it,  
 "and to get them to give up all their lands to you. To  
 "which you answered 'That you had no use for their Lands  
 "and that it would be of no service to their nation to give  
 "them to you, but if they would give them to the Great  
 "King, He would defend the Lands & prevent their being  
 "conquered by the French or other Ennemies.'" The next  
 Circumstance that gave me hopes of your Success was the  
 behaviour of the Indians when your letter was read to them  
 pressing them to give all their lands to the Great King I was  
 present at that meeting — in Consequence of the letter that  
 you had written to me and the other traders to use our  
 utmost Endeavours to prevail with the Indians to agree

to your proposal and M<sup>r</sup>. Beam—\*\*\* M<sup>r</sup>.\*\*\* and M<sup>r</sup>. Elliot & many other Traders were then present the day that your Excellency's letter was taken into consideration by the Indians. They Seemed to aggree to what you desired, and acknowledged that it would be for their own good & safety, and resolved to write a letter to you to that purpose next day, but when that came many of them were of another mind, We Concluded that they had been dealt with in the night time by some of the White people who are Notorious Rogues and live there because they are out of the reach of the Law, But perhaps it might have been because all the head men were not present, and since I have been at Saludy and saw them give up their Lands there I am persuaded it was because old Hop wanted to do it himself and in the presence of all his people, and it is very happy that it was not done at that meeting at Chotte, for probably your Excellency might have rested Satisfied with that, and not taken any further trouble but the Nation would never have thought it so binding upon them nor would they have been so generally satisfied with it Whereas being done in a formal manner at Saludy and in the presence of all the head men & head Warriors There is not one person in the whole nation who is not pleased with it and who will not fight to the last drop of their blood to defend the title that they made to his Majesty. And I am truly of the opinion That if any Claim had been laid to their lands as being the property of his Majesty before that surrender at Saludy it might have been attended with ill Consequences and might have induced them to have given Some part to the French to Convince us that they were their own, Where as they are now sensible that it is out of their power to do so, For when Connacauttee the Chief returned to his Nation from that meeting he stopt at the several Towns as he passed thro' the Nation, and gave very good talks to all his people telling them that there must no longer be any Complaints against the English for settling on their lands for they had no longer any lands that they Properly call their own, They had given them all to the

great King George upon whose goodness it would now depend to permit them to live there themselves.

Lud: Grant—

Ludovick Grant a Trader to the Cherokee nation of Indians being duly Sworn made oath that the foregoing narrative by him delivered to His Excellency the Governor of South Carolina & containing fifteen pages every part thereof is true.

Sworn before me this 12<sup>th</sup>  
of January 1756—  
P<sup>r</sup>Leigh.

A Conversation between his Excellency the Governor of South Carolina and Chuconnunta a head man of the Cherokees Whose name formerly was Ouconecaw.

Gov<sup>r</sup>. I have heard you often mention your having been in England and your having seen the great King George, and your talking with his beloved men are there any of your Countrymen Who went over with you now alive?

Indian. Not one they are every one dead— I am the only Cherokee now alive who was in England or that Saw the Great King George.

Gov<sup>r</sup>. Can you Recollect what induced you to go to England or what passed when you was there?

Indian. It is a great while ago but I remember every thing as if it had happened yesterday and if you please to hear it I shall give you an account of it & shall not be long, A Person came up to our Nation from the Country whom the Traders called a great man & a Warriar, He rode thro' most of our Towns and desired a Meeting of many of our Headmen, and accordingly they agreed to meet him in one of the Towns near the middle of our nation, I was present at that meeting

and heard everything that passed, I remember he said that he was one of King Georges Children, and that he intended soon to go over the great Water to England but before he went he had a Curiosity to see our Country, That unless he had come he could not have believed that We were so poor & naked & so much Want of everything, that he was sure if the Great King George knew it, He would take pity on our condition & would give us Some Cloaths and that when he went should go over the great Water, He would take care to inform him truly of it, But that it would have much better effect if some of us would go along with him. But after some questions were asked about England and how far it might be to it not one of our people would consent to go and so the meeting broke up and every man returned to his own house. At night M<sup>r</sup> Wiggan the Interpreter came to the house where I was, and told me that the Warrior had a particular favour for me, and that if I would Consent to go he would be indifferent whither any other Went; and Mr<sup>r</sup>. Wiggan pressed me very much to accept of his Invitation. I was then a young man but I thought it right to Consider before I spoke, I told him that I understood England was a great Way off. That I would be long in going there I should be detained there a Considerable time, and would be long in returning, and I did not know how I should get back. But he assured me that the Distance was very much magnified and that I might be back at the end of the Summer or at least some time in the Fall, Upon which assurance I agreed to go: Early next morning One of our people came to me and asked if what he had heard was true, That I had Promised to go to England I acquainted him that I had and that I would be as good as my Word, He then told me that neither he nor any other had intended to have gone but since I was to go That I should not go alone, for that he would accompany me and that he knew of Two or three more

that he could persuade to go accordingly they were spoke to and agreed making in all Six and we Immediately got ready & soon set off, But before We Reached Charlestown We met Six of our people returning from the Catawba Nation, and the leader of that Gang asked us whither we had any Business or had been sent for to Charlestown We acquainted him that We had no Business, But that a Warriar had been up in our Nation, and had promised to carry us to see England, and that we were going there. He replied that he had heard much of England and wanted to see it, and would make one with us and desired the five people who were with him to return to the Nation, Before we reached England he asked us if we had anything to communicate to the great King or any message to deliver from the Nation. We told him we had not we were only going to see England for our own pleasure, But he said that no doubt many questions Would be asked us when we came before the Great King George, and that therefore it would be proper to fix upon one who should be the Speaker, that tho' I was the first person Who had agreed to go Yet as I was the Youngest of the Company it would not be right, that I should be the Speaker and therefore Oukayula Was appointed.

Gov'. Can you recollect whither the Warriar who carried you over proposed anything about your Surrendering or giving your Lands to the Great King when he was in your Country or did the Great King or any of his beloved men when you were in England ever propose any such matter?

Indian I am certain There was no such matter ever mentioned either by the Warriour in our Country or any of our people nor was it ever thought of, and I am equally certain that there was no Proposal of that kind made while we were in England either by the Great

King George or any of his beloved men, nor had we power to agree to any Such Proposal, nor did I ever hear that question asked till now, I understand so much that if our Country had been given away then we could not have given it to you. I remember the Talk we had in England perfectly well, that we would be one with the white people in War, That is if they assisted us in our wars against our Ennemies We would assist them against their Ennemies, but for our Lands they never would have been given but for the great pains you have taken with our people and for your going to our nation and building a Fort there and in particular for your meeting our head man at Saludy and promising to build a Fort —

Richard Smith—

Richard Smith one of the Traders to the Cherokee Nation of Indians being duly Sworn made oath, That the annexed four pages of paper contains the Substance of a conversation lately had between his Exe<sup>cy</sup>. The Go<sup>r</sup> of South Carolina & Chuconuto and that all the answers & sayings of Chuconunto were truly interpreted & repeated by him this Deponent as the same were delivered by the s<sup>d</sup> Indian & was therein set furth.

Sworn before me

this 12 of Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1756

P Leigh.